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AMCONSUL HONG KONG
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4156

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 3685

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

SUBJECT: KARNOW INTERVIEW OF SIHANOUK

EF: STATE 90891

. KARNOW CABLED QUESTIONS TO SIHANOUK DEC 23 AND RECEIVED
ABLED REPLY DEC 29, TEXT OF WHICH PROVIDED BELOW. DEPARTMENT
AN OBTAIN KARNOW'S QUESTIONS FROM MURREY MARDER, WASHINGTON
OST.

. BELOW ARE THE REPLIES OF PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK, CHIEF OF
STATE OF CAMBODIA, TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

FIRST REPLY. OUR PRINCIPLE IS NOT TO TAKE PUNCHES WITHOUT
RETURNING THEM, EVEN IF WE ARE THE WEAKER ONE. BUT I WISH TO
MAKE A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN TWO POSSIBLE CASES OF ARMED
INCURSION INTO OUR TERRITORY. THE AMERICAN COMMAND AT SAIGON
STATES THAT IN OUTLYING, UNINHABITED AREAS OF OUR COUNTRY,
DIFFICULT TO SUPERVISE, THERE ARE "SECRET MOVEMENTS" OF VIET
CONG OR NORTH VIETNAMESE, "HIDDEN EVEN FROM THE EYES OF THE

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AMBODIANS."

"I AM SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT VIETNAMESE FORCES OF ANY SIZE COULD BE MAINTAINED IN DESERTED, INHOSPITABLE AREAS DIFFICULT TO SUPPLY WITH FOOD. BUT IF THAT WERE THE CASE, AND IF FIGHTING BEGAN LIMITED TO AMERICAN AND VIETNAMESE FORCES THAT HAD BOTH ENTERED CAMBODIA ILLEGALLY, NATURALLY WE WOULD NOT INTERVENE MILITARILY; FIRST, BECAUSE (WE) LACK ADEQUATE AND RAPID TRANSPORT FACILITIES, AND SECOND, BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE A TWOFOLD VIOLATION OF OUR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NEUTRALITY BY FOREIGN FORCES. WE WOULD THEN CONFINE OURSELVES TO PROTESTING TO BOTH PARTIES.

4. "ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SERIOUS INCURSIONS OR BOMBINGS WERE PERPETRATED AGAINST OUR BORDER AREAS, POPULATED BY CAMBODIANS-- OR VIETNAMESE LIVING IN CAMBODIA, TO WHOM WE (OMISSION) PROTECTION--I STATE QUITE DEFINITELY THAT WE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO SEND TO THE AREA EVERYTHING AVAILABLE IN THE FORM OF AIRPLANES, TANKS, AND INFANTRY. IF THE AGGRESSOR DID NOT WITHDRAW, THERE WOULD BE FIGHTING.

5. DIPLOMATICALLY, WE WOULD IMMEDIATELY REQUEST A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND IF THE COUNCIL DID NOT GIVE US SATISFACTION, WE WOULD DEMAND A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. I WOULD GO TO HEAD THE CAMBODIAN DELEGATION, AND WOULD PERSONALLY DEFEND MY COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

6. "AGAIN IN THE EVENT OF AGGRESSION IN FORCE, WE WOULD REQUEST INCREASED AID IN (THE FORM OF) MATERIEL FROM FRIENDLY POWERS, PARTICULARLY CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION. IF OPPOSING MILITARY PRESSURE BECAME INTOLERABLE, WE WOULD APPEAL TO CERTAIN FRIENDLY COUNTRIES, (SUCH AS) CHINA AND NORTH KOREA, TO SEND US VOLUNTEERS, WHO WOULD BE UNDER CAMBODIAN COMMAND. AND WE MIGHT POSSIBLY COUNTERATTACK, EXERCISING THE RIGHT OF "PURSUIT" INVOKED AGAINST US.

7." SECOND REPLY. I MYSELF HAVE PERSONALLY PROPOSED THAT THE ICC'S POWERS IN CAMBODIA BE STRENGTHENED, WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OUTPOSTS SET UP AT "HOT POINTS", FOR I WISH MY COUNTRY TO BE STRICTLY SUPERVISED ALONG ITS BORDERS, AND AT ITS PORTS AND AIRFIELDS. I HAVE NO OBJECTION-- QUITE THE CONTRARY-- TO THE UNITED STATES' PROVIDING THE ICC WITH EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS TO

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ENABLE IT BETTER TO ACCOMPLISH ITS MISSION, AND AT ONCE; FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ICC AND RECONCILIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES ARE TWO SEPARATE MATTERS. BUT THE ICC CANNOT RECEIVE THESE ADDITIONAL MEANS AS LONG AS THE U.S.S.R., CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE 1954 GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND POLAND, A MEMBER OF THE ICC, ARE OPPOSED, AS I GREATLY REGRET THEY ARE. I HAVE GIVEN THE ICC THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL ANYWHERE, AND HAVE REQUESTED IT TO INVESTIGATE ALL REPORTED INCIDENTS, PUBLISHING ITS CONCLUSIONS WITHOUT DELAY. WHAT MORE CAN I DO?

"THIRD REPLY. IT HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS HAPPENED THAT SMALL UNITS OF THE VIETNAMESE RESISTANCE, PRESSED BY THE AMERICAN FORCES, HAVE FALLEN BACK INTO CAMBODIA. I CAN AFFIRM THAT THEY RETURNED TO THEIR OWN TERRITORY A FEW HOURS LATER, UPON ORDERS BY OUR OFFICERS, WHO INTERVENE EACH TIME SUCH INCIDENTS ARE UNCOVERED. BUT I CATEGORICALLY ASSERT THAT THERE CAN BE IN OUR COUNTRY NO DIVISIONS, OR HEADQUARTERS, OR HOSPITALS-- WORTHY OF THE NAME--(BELONGING TO) THE FORCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM OR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. LIKewise, THE BUSINESS OF THE "SIHANOUK TRAIL" TO SUPPLY THE VIET CONG BY TRUCK CONVOYS, A TRAIL WHICH WE HAVE DELIBERATELY LEFT IMPASSABLE TO VEHICULAR TRAFFIC, IS A PURE FICTION. LASTLY WHEN YOU TALK OF INFILTRATION, NEVER FORGET THAT CAMBODIA MUST DEFEND THREE BORDERS WITH 34,000 MEN. WE CANNOT BE BLAMED FOR WHAT THE AMERICANS AND THEIR ALLIES CANNOT PREVENT WITH MORE THAN A MILLION MEN.

8. I HAVE ALSO LEARNED THAT THE PENTAGON WAS CONSIDERING USING THE SAIGON ARMY FOR POSSIBLE INCURSIONS INTO OUR COUNTRY. WARN YOUR COUNTRY THAT IT WILL IRREPARABLY DAMAGE RELATIONS BETWEEN US IF IT SENDS OUR TRADITIONAL ENEMY, (WHICH HAS) ALWAYS (HAD) EXPANSIONIST (AIMS), INTO OUR COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. LET THE AMERICANS SHOULD ER THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. LET THEM AT LEAST SPARE OUR PEOPLE FROM MURDER, TORTURE, AND LOOTING BY THEIR MERCENARIES. OTHERWISE, OURS WILL NOT BE A "GRADUATED RESPONSE."

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ACTION SS 20

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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4157

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OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

SUBJ: KARNOW INTERVIEW OF SIHANOUK

REF: STATE 90891

9. "FOURTH REPLY. THAT WE SHOULD EVER APPEAL TO THE VIETNAMESE TO PROTECT OUR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. WE KNOW TOO WELL THAT IF THEY COME HERE IN FORCE, IT WILL BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE THEM LEAVE. OF COURSE IN THE EVENT OF FULL-SCALE WAR WE SHALL HAVE NO CHOICE. THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST FORCES WILL COME HERE OF THEIR OWN ACCORD. BUT THE BLAME WILL REST WITH THE UNITED STATES AND NOT WITH US; WE ARE DOING AND WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT IT.

10. "FIFTH REPLY. WE HAVE NOT REQUESTED MORE AID (IN THE FORM OF) MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM CHINA THAN FROM OTHER FRIENDLY POWERS, THE

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USSR AND FRANCE FOR EXAMPLE. NATURALLY IF PEKING DECIDES TO HELP US MORE THAN AT PRESENT, WE CANNOT REFUSE. WE SHALL NOT ASK CHINA FOR AID IN MEN EXCEPT FOR VOLUNTEERS, IF THAT BECOMES A VITAL NECESSITY FOR US.

11. "SIXTH REPLY. I HAVE DISCUSSED WITH THE NEW AMBASSADOR OF THE USSR INCREASED SOVIET AID IN WEAPONS, TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT, ETC.

12. I SHALL NOT CONCEAL THE FACT FROM YOU THAT I HAVE ALSO REQUESTED THE SOVIET GOVT, WHICH RESPECTS US, TO INTERVENE WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, WITH WHICH ITS OPINION CARRIES WEIGHT, IN ORDER TO DISSUADE IT FROM COMMITTING AGGRESSION AGAINST NEUTRAL, PEACEFUL CAMBODIA.

13. "SEVENTH REPLY. I HAVE ALREADY ANSWERED THAT QUESTION. I SHALL ADD THAT I DO NOT EXPECT MUCH OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH FAILED IN ITS ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND THAILAND. BUT WE HAVE MORE FRIENDS IN IT OF EVERY PERSUASION THAN IS SUPPOSED, AND THE ROSTRUM OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS VERY CONVENIENT FOR A PEOPLE WHO WISH TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, AND FIGHT BACK.

14. "EIGHTH REPLY. CAMBODIA CANNOT ENTER DISCUSSIONS UNDER THREAT. I SHALL THEREFORE NOT INVITE ANY AMERICAN LEADER (HERE). BUT IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON WHO HAS SO FAR NEVER ACCUSED OR THREATENED US, AND HAS SUCCEEDED IN REMAINING CALM DESPITE WARMONGERING PRESSURES, WISHES

TO SEND ME A REPRESENTATIVE ACCREDITED BY HIM, I SHALL GLADLY RECEIVE HIM. SENATOR MANSFIELD, A JUST AND COURAGEOUS MAN WHOM WE CONSIDER TO BE A FRIEND, WILL ALWAYS BE A MOST WELCOME IN OUR COUNTRY, EITHER AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL, OR AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS PRESIDENT. WE IN CAMBODIA ARE BY NO MEANS THE ENEMIES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE ARE A COUNTRY CAUGHT BETWEEN THE HAMMER AND THE ANVIL, A COUNTRY THAT WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO REMAIN THE LAST HAVEN OF PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA." MARTIN

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